

THE MOTETS OF JACOB HANDL IN INTER-CONFESSIONAL SILESIAN LITURGICAL PRACTICE

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Izvilleček: Številna dela Jacobusa Handla – Gallusa (še posebno rokopisna, iz časa preden so njegova dela tiskali v Pragi) so neposredno povezana z nekaterimi mesti v Šleziji, kjer je bival v mladosti. Te skladbe jasno odražajo liturgično prakso svojega časa. Prav zaradi značilnosti skladateljevega sloga so prišle v kategorijo »klasičnega« repertoarja, ki so ga v liturgični praksi v Šleziji – tako v katoliških kot v protestantskih krogih – zelo cenili. Handlovi moteti so se uporabljali na najrazličnejše načine in so zaradi svoje priljubljenosti postali ključni v institucionalno sprejetem repertoarju figuralne renesančne glasbe.

Ključne besede: Jacobus Handl – Gallus, glasbeni rokopisi, liturgična praksa, Šlezija.

Abstract: Numerous works by Jacob Handl – Gallus, especially manuscripts dating from before his music was printed in Prague, are connected with certain Silesian towns where he spent time in his youth. These compositions clearly reflect liturgical practice of the time. Thanks to characteristics of the composer's style they fell into into a category of "classic" repertory that was much valued in the liturgical practice of the period in Silesia, in Catholic as well as in Protestant circles. Handl's motets found many uses, and because of their popularity came to form a cornerstone of the institutionally accepted Renaissance repertory of figural music.

Keywords: Jacob Handl – Gallus, music manuscripts, liturgical practice, Silesia.

There can be no doubt that Jacob Handl is to be numbered among the most important central European composers of the Renaissance. Despite the multitude of musicological studies, monographs and collected editions dedicated to that great heir of Orlando di Lasso, there remain many questions connected with his huge and varied musical production. More than 100 years of Handl scholarship¹ have not come to an end with the recently published catalogue of his compositions by Edo Škulj,² for scholars are still adding to that list, discussing the repertory already attributed to him and addressing new, important questions regarding this master.

¹ Running from the early editions by Emil Bezecky, Josef Mantuani and Paul Amadeus Pisk in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, volumes 12 (1899), 24 (1905), 30 (1908), 40 (1913), 48 (1917), 51/52 (1919), 94/95 (1959), reprinted in Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, to the more recent monographs by Dragotin Cvetko. Dragotin Cvetko, *Jacobus Gallus. Sein Leben und Werk*, München, Trofenik, 1972; Dragotin Cvetko, *Jacobus Händl Gallus vocatus Carniolanus*, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1991.

² Edo Škulj, *Gallusov katalog. Seznam Gallusovih skladb*, Ljubljana, Družina, 1992.

In my study, in recent years, of the rich musical repertory of the so-called Emil Bohn collection,³ I was astonished at the large number, within this repertory of essentially Protestant provenance, of works by Jacob Handl and by many other composers more commonly associated with the post-Tridentine Catholic repertory. In recent contributions I have tried to account for the prominent place of Handl's music in Protestant Silesian music culture of this time⁴ and to show why this musical oeuvre (and aesthetically similar works composed by other imitators of Lasso) gained its long-lasting currency in those specific confessional circles.⁵ In this paper I would like to bring together the main theses of these articles and to connect them to some new ideas. I think that repertory studies, which have grown so fashionable in the musicology of recent years, have to consider the functionality of music in concrete social institutions. And the case of Handl's music raises us some important questions about the context of music during this time: the status of late-Renaissance *musica figurata* in the various forms of liturgy according to Martin Luther and Carlo Borromeo, respectively.

As the stage for this drama we will take the duchy of Silesia, which at the time of the dissemination of Jacob Handl's music, was sharply polarized between the two main confessions. These two camps – Protestant and Catholic – were in this region, as elsewhere, deeply committed to the two great churchmen just mentioned, who – once more, not by chance – had both made many pronouncements about the role of music in the reformed liturgy. In such a climate of confessional confrontation, one would expect our topic to provide a classic illustration of the sociological notion of a “clash of cultures”. But before we attempt any kind of interpretation, we should distance ourselves from common opinions and prejudices and listen to what the sources tell us.

As already stated, a large proportion of Jacob Handl's surviving music is connected to certain Silesian cities where the composer spent part of his youth. Out of the approximately 100 Handl compositions copied into manuscripts of Silesian provenance, almost 70 predate the well-known volumes printed by Georg Nigrinus in Prague, which could suggest they were composed during Handl's youth (1575–1580), when the composer travelled between the major musical centres of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia: Louka (Ger. Klosterbruck), Brno (Ger. Brünn), Zábřovice (Ger. Obrowitz), Olomouc (Ger. Olmütz), Kroměříž (Ger. Kremsier), Praha (Ger. Prag), Rakovnik (Ger. Rakonitz), Wrocław (Ger. Breslau), Zgorzelec (Ger. Görlitz)⁶, Nysa (Ger. Neisse) and Legnica (Ger. Liegnitz) – the

³ Today preserved in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, earlier in Wrocław (Ger. Breslau), Stadtbibliothek.

⁴ Tomasz Jeż, Twórczość Jacoba Handla w źródłach proveniencji śląskiej, *Muzyka* 49 (2004), pp. 27–62.

⁵ Tomasz Jeż, Łacińska twórczość muzyczna w ewangelickim Wrocławiu. Problem trwałości tradycji w czasach przemian konfesyjnych, *Barok* 11 (2004), pp. 185–205.

⁶ Thomas Napp, Das Görzitzer Musikleben zwischen 1570 und 1650. Eine institutionsgeschichtliche Fallstudie der bürgerlichen Musikkultur im Oberlausitzer Sechsstädtebund, *Musikgeschichte im Zeichen der Reformation. Magdeburg – ein kulturelles Zentrum in der mitteldeutschen Musiklandschaft (Ständige Konferenz Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik in Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt und Thüringen, Jahrbuch 2005)*, ed. Peter Wollny, Beeskow, Ortus Musikverlag, 2005, pp. 333–336.

cities listed by him in the preface to the third volume of his motets.⁷ Clearer traces of Handl's active presence in Silesian music culture emerge from compositions of his copied into manuscripts of local provenance but not subsequently published, and of which survive uniquely in these sources. The sixteen compositions in question – among which one encounters three pieces not listed in Škulj's *Gallusov katalog*⁸ – occur in part-books and German tablatures of Silesian provenance: they originate above all from Wrocław,⁹ but also from Legnica¹⁰ and Brzeg (Ger. Brieg)¹¹ – all of these are manuscripts originating from Protestant church archives.

From trustworthy biographical sources we know that during his Silesian period Jacob Handl was close to Andreas Jerin, from 1585 bishop of Wrocław, to whom he dedicated his first book of motets, published in 1586 in Prague.¹² Probably also in the capital of Silesia, Handl made acquaintance with another important personality, Stanislas Pavlovský, from 1572 a canon at Wrocław cathedral and later Bishop of Olomouc and a patron of our composer. Both bishops were very active promoters of the Tridentine reforms; the second was also the instigator of a new liturgical order known as the *Agenda* created by Hieronim Powodowski in 1591.¹³ The liturgy reformed according to the instructions of the Council of Trent as presented in this book was made compulsory in the dioceses of Włocławek, Lwów and Gniezno; in fact, the *Agenda* of Powodowski was accepted all over Poland and also in Silesia, which was in this period subordinate to the archdiocese of Gniezno.¹⁴

In most of the subsequent editions of this book, alongside the predominant reformed

⁷ *Tertius tomus, musici operis, harmoniarum quatuor, quinque, sex, octo, et plurium vocum [...]*, Praga, G. Nigrinus, 1587 (RISM A/I/4: H 1982).

⁸ *Der Ehrlich stand durch Gottes Hand a 6, Hodie natus est salvator mundi a 8 and Jubilate Deo omnis terra a 6.*

⁹ Part-books with shelf-marks: Slg. Bohn Ms. mus. 10, 12, 15, 30, 96, 98, 100 and 357; and tablatures with shelf-marks Slg. Bohn Ms. mus. 20, 21 and 357. See also Emil Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau*, Breslau, Hainauer, 1890.

¹⁰ Part-books preserved today in Warsaw, National Library, shelf-mark Mus. 2101, and Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, shelf-mark 60201 Muz., formerly (complete) in Liegnitz, Biblioteka Rudolfinia, shelf-mark Libr. Mus. 58.

¹¹ Two handwritten supplements to two published collections, both today preserved in Wrocław, University Library: 1. shelf-mark 51353 Muz. [olim Bibliothek des Königlichen Gymnasium zu Brieg, shelf-mark Br. Mus. K. 34], and 2. shelf-mark 51418 Muz [olim Bibliothek des Königlichen Gymnasium zu Brieg, shelf-mark Br. Mus. K. 51].

¹² *Tomus primus operis musici, cantionum quatuor, quinque, sex, octo et plurium vocum [...]*, Praga, G. Nigrinus, 1586 (RISM A/I: H 1980).

¹³ *Agenda Seu Ritus Sacramentorum Ecclesiasticorum ad uniformem Ecclesiarum per universas provincias Regni Poloniae usum, officio Romano conformati, ex decreto Synodi Provincialis Petricoviensis, denuo conscripti et editi studio et opera Hieronymi Povodovij [...]*, Cracoviae: in Architypographii Lazari 1591. In addition to Stanislas Pavlovský there were also the Polish bishops Stanisław Hozjusz, Marcin Kromer, Stanisław Karnkowski and Hieronim Powodowski.

¹⁴ Joachim Köhler, *Das Ringen um die tridentinische Erneuerung im Bistum Breslau. Vom Abschluß des Konzils bis zur Schlacht am Weissen Berg. 1564–1620*, Köln and Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 1973; Józef Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku: czasy reformacji protestanckiej, reformy katolickiej i kontrreformacji: 1520–1742*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Akademii Teologii Katolickiej, 1995.

choral plainsong, there appeared two polyphonic works by Jacob Handl from his second book of motets, dating from 1587: *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*, based on the well-known prophecy of Isaiah (57, 1–2) and *Sepulto Domino* from the Gospel of St Matthew (27, 62–64, 66).¹⁵ They appear immediately after the choral plainsong responsories for the Good Friday procession to the Lord's Sepulchre with the written annotation: "vel si videbitur in cantu figurati ut sequitur". The same two pieces by Handl were published in another post-Tridentine instructional liturgical book in 1631: the *Rituale Sacramentorum* by Andreas Piotrkowczyk,¹⁶ which was still being used in some Polish churches even into the 20th century. However, those two pieces were only suggested for performance and not prescribed, because of the variable conditions for professional music in different centres; their continued presence in successive service books seems to hold a special significance for the history and reception of figural music as a whole. In my opinion, such an institutionally promoted appreciation of those two motets by Jacob Handl is a rare instance of the endorsement of individual compositions by the Church authorities. While these authorities sought to exercise control over the music used for the liturgy, their pronouncements, much quoted in commentaries on music history, were ordinarily limited to general indications of the desired aesthetic qualities of liturgical music.

Indeed, these two motets are similar in style: very simple, homophonic, declamatory and homogeneous; but is it by chance that they are by the same composer? If so, we may suspect that these motets reflect the post-Tridentine ideal for its new, reformed music, epitomized during the next few centuries by the deliberately archaic musical structure of the so-called *falsobordone* technique.¹⁷ This ideal can be traced back to the well-known decree of the Fathers of the Council in its 24th session (1563) that liturgical polyphonic music should be intelligible ("omnia clare matureque prolata") and "soft" both to the ear and to the heart of the listener.¹⁸ So do these two Passion motets of Gallus constitute a fresh attempt to attain the post-Tridentine ideal of intelligible music, as did previously the works of Pierluigi da Palestrina and Vincenzo Ruffo, or do they represent a kind of

¹⁵ *Secundus tomus musici operis harmoniarum quatuor, quinque, sex, octo et plurium vocum [...]*, Praga, G. Nigrinus, 1587. See also Elżbieta Zwolińska, Einige Bemerkungen zur Verbreitung der Werke des Jacobus Gallus in Polen, *Jacobus Gallus and His Time*, ed. Dragotin Cvetko and Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1985, pp. 145–147; Kurt von Fischer, Die Passions-Motetten des Jacobus Gallus und ihre Beziehung zur Passion des Antoine de Longeval, *Gallus Carniolus in evropska renesansa*, vol. 1, ed. Dragotin Cvetko and Danilo Pokorn, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1991, pp. 63–69; Werner Braun, "Ecce, quomodo moritur justus" und der "rühende Zug" in der Kirchenmusik, *Gallus Carniolus in evropska renesansa*, op. cit., pp. 71–80.

¹⁶ *Rituale Sacramentorum Ac aliarum Ecclesiae Caeremoniarum ex decreto Synodi Provinc. Petricovien. Ad uniformem Ecclesiarum Regni Polon. Usus recens editum. Cracoviae in Offic. Andreas Petricovii, 1631.*

¹⁷ Murray C. Bradshaw, The Falsobordone as an Expression of Humanism and Ritual, *Musica Antiqua, VIII. Acta Musicologica*, Bydgoszcz, Filharmonia Pomorska, 1988, pp. 135–157.

¹⁸ Karl Weinmann, *Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik: eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung*, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919; Karl Gustav Fellerer, *Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik, Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, Nachdr. d. Ausg. Leipzig 1919, Hildesheim, Olms, 1980, p. 7.

Catholic reaction against the rich, elaborate musical settings of the Protestant Good Friday liturgy?

Such an straightforward interpretation is at variance with the facts as we know them from the history of the reception of Jacob Handl's work on the other side of the confessional barricade. On 23 January 1587, the year of publication of the second volume of Handl's *Opus musicum* and four years before the publication of Powodowski's *Agenda*, the motet *Ecce quomodo moritur justus* was sung at the burial of Joachim Meister, the rector of the Protestant school of St Peter in Görlitz¹⁹. The same motet is encountered a short time later in four Silesian manuscripts: two sets of part-books and a tablature from Wrocław²⁰ and also in part-books from Legnica.²¹ Further sources shed more light on the practical use of this piece: in the *Directorium chori* (1650) of the Protestant church of St Mary Magdalene in Wrocław²² the responsory *Tenebrae factae sunt*, traditionally sung since pre-Reformation times on Good Friday,²³ was enriched by the motet *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*²⁴ by Jacob Handl, sung with an instrumental accompaniment for viols.

Towards the end of the 17th century this Latin motet was replaced by German Lieder. The first traceable example occurs in the *Cantional* (1682) of Gottfried Vopelius,²⁵ where in a group of Passion songs a textually exact German *contrafactum* of Handl's *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* was published as *Siehe, wie dahin stirbt der Gerechte*. In the liturgical books from the beginning of the 18th century for the church of St Bernard in Wrocław we find as replacements for Handl's Latin motet the new German Lieder *Da der Herr Christ zu Tische saß, Umb sechs ward eine Finsternüß* and *Jesu Leiden, Pein und Todt*.²⁶ We should here mention that this very motet penetrated into the Catholic *cantional* repertory: its text was published in 1719 in Hradec Králové in the *Slaviček rajský* of Jan Josef Božan, which remained very popular in southern Silesia (around the cities of Opava, Ostrava and Frýdek-Místek) up until the 20th century!²⁷

How did this music manage to reach instructional books for the Protestant liturgy

¹⁹ In the quoted article by Werner Braun (W. Brown, op. cit., p. 74) there is more documentation on the performing practice of that motet on the occasion of many burial ceremonies for Protestants.

²⁰ Slg. Bohn Ms. mus. 12, 30A and 46.

²¹ Warsaw, National Library, shelf-mark Mus. 2106 [olim Liegnitz, Biblioteca Rudolfini, Libr. Mus. 18].

²² Today lost [olim Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, shelf-mark Hs. R. 2572].

²³ Gustav Bauch, *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens in der Zeit der Reformation (Codex diplomaticus Silesiae, vol. 26)*, Breslau, Hirt, 1911, p. 86, 98; Hans Adolf Sander, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des lutherischen Gottesdienstes und der Kirchenmusik in Breslau. Die lateinischen Haupt- und Nebengottesdienste im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Breslauer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 1, Breslau, Priebatsch, 1937, pp. 29–31.

²⁴ Wrocław, State Archive, P. 79m, for the year 1691.

²⁵ *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch, von den schönsten und besten Liedern verfasst [...] mit 4. 5. und 6. Stimmen, deren Melodeyen Theils aus Johann Hermann Scheins Cantional, und anderm guten Autoribus zusammen getragen, theils aber selbsten componiret [...]*, Leipzig, Christoph Klinger, Gallus Niemann, 1682. (Wrocław, University Library, shelf-mark 304844.)

²⁶ Wrocław, State Archive, Lose Akten der St. Bernhardin-Kirche, S. IIB, IXa.

²⁷ Bohumil Pavlok, Jiřina Veselská, Jan Josef Božan a jeho Slaviček rajský, *Knihy a dějiny* 2/1 (1995), pp. 25–30.

of this time? When we learn that in the library of the church of St Mary Magdalene (and perhaps not only there) there is preserved an example of the *Agenda* of Powodowski²⁸ everything becomes clearer. In the archives of the churches of St Mary Magdalene and St Elisabeth in Wrocław, kept today in the State Archive in Wrocław,²⁹ we find many original Catholic missals, even ones published in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, which were used liturgically in these Protestant centres. But those printed books are adapted to suit the new style of liturgy in two main ways: the first comprises the various forms of simplification of the ancient liturgy: its shortening, and also a reduction in the number of items; the second constitutes the so-called “christliche Besserung” in those cases where the texts do not conform to Lutheran dogma and practice (this is true of most of the Marian responsories and antiphons of the *Proprium Missae*). For example, in the first-mentioned source deletions in red ink have been applied to such elements of traditional Advent liturgy as:

| Day of the Advent liturgy | part of the Liturgy of the Hours | Liturgical genre | Incipits of deleted portions of the liturgy |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|---|
| 1. Domenica | Ad Matutinas preces | Responsorium 2. | Missus est Angelus Gabriel ad Mariam |
| | | Responsorium 3. | Ave Maria gratia plena |
| | Ad Vesperas II | Responsorium | Missus est Angelus Gabriel |
| | | Ant. ad Magnificat | Ne timeas invenisti gratiam |
| Feria 3tia | Ad Laudes | Ant. ad Benedictus | Antequam conveniret inventa est Maria |
| Feria 4ta | Ad Laudes | Responsorium | Ecce Virgo concipet et pariet filium |
| Feria 5ta | Ad Laudes | Ant. ad Benedictus | Benedicta tu in mulieribus |
| 2. Domenica | Ad Vesperas I | Ant. ad Magnificat | Beata es Maria quae crededisti |
| 3. Domenica | Ad Vesperas I | Responsorium 2. | Bethlehem civitas Dei summi |
| | | Responsorium 3. | Suscipe verbum tuum Virga Maria |
| Feria 2. | Ad Laudes | Ant. ad Benedictus | Egredietur virga de radice Jesse |
| | Ad Vesperas | Ant. ad Magnificat | Beatam me dicent omnes generationes |
| Feria 4. | Ad Laudes | Ant. ad Benedictus | Missus est Gabriel Angelus ad Mariam |
| | Ad Vesperas | Ant. ad Magnificat | Quomodo fiet istud Angele Dei |
| Feria 5. | Ad Vesperas | Ant. ad Magnificat | Ecce ancilla Domini, fiat mihi |
| Feria 6. | Ad Vesperas | Ant. ad Magnificat | Quomodo fiet istud Angele Dei |
| 4. Domenica | Ad Vesperas II | Responsorium | Missus est Gabriel angelus |
| etc. | | | |

The same practice of admitting trans-confessional *contrafacta* of the music used in the liturgy – but here in the context of a polyphonic setting by Jacob Handl – is encountered in a manuscript supplement to three of his published motet collections (H 1980, H 1981, H 1982):³⁰ this is a copy of his Marian motet *Quid admiramini* (from his first book of motets) supplied with a new text, *Quid contrastimini* (see Figure 1):

²⁸ Wrocław, University Library, shelf-mark 370.912.

²⁹ Wrocław, State Archive, shelf-mark 4341 [olim: P 79a, 2]: *Chorbuch der Kirchen zu Breslau bey S. Maria Magdalena 1598 scribebat in sui memoriam Michäel Kittelius Signator apud D. Mariam Magdalenam Anno a C. N. 1608.*

³⁰ Wrocław, University Library, shelf-mark 50513 Muz., parts for Bassus primus and Altus secundus only.

Octo Voc. Cho: I. Bassus. XXX. Octava.

M licet stultissimum tamen verissimum
 licet mirabile ramen possibile

Vid admiramini,
 vid contrastamini

virginem puerperam fu- isse gravidam, omnia quae docuit naturam natura-
 bus nostris meritis salvari nos fide lesum nostro crimine patrem nobis plac-

uit, natus ipse vo- luit. naturam claudicare, ipse naturam despicere Tu

celis altior, Tu lucis clarior, me dignare te laudare carmine iucundo, Tu

Ballamus odoris, Tu formula pudoris, Tu gaudium mceroris, Tu merces
 te decet laus et hymnus, cuius est omnis honor ve aboz

Octo Vocum. Chori I. Bassus. Octava.

annus, Tu vitæ fá- nra, Tu via veris in via, Tu Salus in Prophetis, Tu
 ante deus vir tibi. huius que e- huius quibus tu veritas nostris, huius

clericorum iubilus, Tu mulierum titulus, Tu gemma puellarum, Te qui
 Abraham et Isaac, Deus aut horum testes Date confirmat et laude

orant famuli, Da fontem lachryma- rum
 me cum Angelis in seculum se cu te

Figure 1
 Contrafactum of Jacob Handl's motet *Quid admiramini* as *Quid contrastimini* (Wrocław, University Library, shelf-mark 50513 Muz., Bassus primus; with permission).

| The original text | The replacement text |
|--|---|
| <p>[I Bassus:] Quid admiramini licet mirabile tamen possibile virginem puerperam fuisse gravidam, omnia quae docuit naturam naturavit, natus ipse voluit, naturam claudicare. Tu coelis altior, Tu stellis clarior, me dignare te laudare carmine iucundo, Tu Balsamus odoris, Tu formula pudoris, Tu gaudium moeroris, Tu merces annua, Tu vitae ianua, Tu via veris in via, Tu Salus in Prophetis, Tu clericorum iubilus Tu mulierum titulus, Tu gemma puellarum, Te tui orant famuli da fontem lachrymarum.</p> | <p>[I Bassus:] Quid contristamini licet stultissimum tamen verisimum absque nostris meritis salvari nos fide lassum nostro crimine patrem nobis placavit, natus ipse voluit, naturam disperire. Tu coelis altior, da Spiritu Sanctu, ut credentes te laudemus carmine iucundo, Salvator Mediator, Te decet laus et hymnus, Tuus est omnis honor, va glorianti de suis virtutibus neque est hoc virtus, Tu virtus nostra, Christe. Nos Abraham et Israel Deus author noster es. Da Te confiteamur Et laudemus cum Angelis in saeculum saeculi.</p> |
| <p>[II Altus:] Quid opinamini fa diae Ierusalem de partu novitatis, omnia que voluit ex nihilo creavit, natus ipse voluit naturam claudicare, Miremur amplius quid illo dignius, Qui de terra, coelum fecit mundus de immundo Tu omnis boni praecium, Tu liliu[m] convalium, Tu coeli sanctuarium, Tu gaudium moeroris, Tu coecis oculus, Tu claudis baculus, Tu sitient rivulus, Tu quies inquietis, Tu merce viduarum, Tu gemma puellarum, Te tui orant famuli da fontem lachrymarum.</p> | <p>[II Altus:] Quid conturbamini filii peccatorum ob lapsum Patris Adae. Quicam Adam redidit ut Christum auravit, natus ipse voluit naturam disparire, dignatus propter nos caelo descendere ut terrenus coeli secum faceret heredes. Dulcis Christe bone Iesu, et intercessor unice, O vae tacentibus de te victoria triumphus, Tu coecis oculus, Tu claudis baculus, Tu sitient rivulus, Tu quies inquietis, Ignorant Patriarcho cum Patre Spiritusque, Et laudemus cum Angelis in saeculum saeculi.</p> |

As we can see, the Marian subject of the original motet text has been replaced by a Christocentric *contrafactum*; all the poetic metaphors connected primarily with the Blessed Virgin Mary have been readdressed to Christ, the “intercessor unicus”. In this way, the new version of Handl’s motet has been made to conform strictly to the Lutheran doctrine of *sola fides* and focuses on the soteriological perspective of justification by faith. Incidentally, the elaborately rhetorical character of the prototype did not survive these modifications, crumbling in the face of the demands imposed by the new text.

An even more complex testimony to the functional use of Gallus’s music within the Protestant liturgy in Silesia is provided by the manuscript part-books from Legnica,³¹ where one discovers a unique record of the entire liturgical order for the Mass as practised in one of the Protestant churches of this city in first half of the 17th century (see [Figure 2](#)). The work, entitled *Missa super Jerusalem gaude. Deutsch a 6 Handelij*, is a so-called *deutsche Messe*, compiled probably by Paul Hallman from Legnica (1600–1650),

³¹ Today Warsaw, National Library, shelf-mark Mus. 2102, Mus. 2103, Mus. 2104; and Legnica, Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, shelf-mark S/41, S/21 [olim Liegnitz, Biblioteka Rudolfinia, shelf-mark Libr. Mus. 69].



Figure 2

Missa super Jerusalem gaude. Deutsch a 6 Handelij (Warsaw, National Library, shelf-mark Mus. 2102, Tenor; with permission).

a musician, poet and counsellor to a prince.³² The choice of title is well justified, because within the structure of this order we find five parodies of three motets by Gallus, inserted as follows:

| In place of: | there is a parody of the motet: | published earlier in: | with the new text: |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| <i>Kyrie eleison</i> | <i>Hierusalem gaude gaudio magno</i> | H 1980 | <i>Kyrie eleison</i> |
| <i>Gloria</i> | <i>Hierusalem gaude gaudio magno</i> | H 1980 | <i>Und Friede auf Erden</i> |
| <i>Nach dem Evangelio</i> | <i>Hierusalem gaude gaudio magno</i> | H 1980 | <i>Jerusalem jauchzte mit grosser freude</i> |
| <i>Nach dem Hymno (after Sanctus)</i> | <i>Gloria tibi Trinitas</i> | H 1982 | <i>Ehre sey dir Dreyfaltigkeit</i> |
| <i>Pro Conclusionem</i> | <i>Laus et perennis gloria</i> | H 1982 | <i>Lob Ehr preiss und herrlichkeit</i> |

³² Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 5, Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1959, p. 4. The attribution of this compilation to Paul Hallman is not secure but is suggested by the use of the same title for a manuscript of the same provenance (part-books held in Liegnitz, Bibliotheca Rudolphina, shelf-mark Libr. Mus. 11), today lost.

This interesting instance of a Mass cycle based on music by Handl is not an isolated case in Silesian liturgical sources. In a lost organ tablature of 1653 from the church of St Mary Magdalene in Breslau,³³ which provides the organist's music for the accompaniment of the liturgy, the Latin *Credo* is replaced by two doxological motets by him: *Laus et perennis gloria* and *Deo Patri et Filio, sancto simul Paraclito*.

These examples have been selected from the much larger repertory of Latin motets by Handl copied into the abundant Protestant music manuscripts from Silesia.³⁴ However, in the present state of research we do not know their exact place and function in the liturgy. Alongside the rich motet collections, we find in these tablatures and part-books also most of his Masses – reduced, naturally, to Kyrie-Gloria pairs. Many of them are written in an organ tablature of 1599 from the church of St Christopher church in Wrocław.³⁵ At this point, we should mention also some German-language sacred songs attributed to Jacob Handl in Silesian music sources that are apparent *unica*. The first, *Der Ehrlich stand durch Gottes Hand*, was written down by Georg Gotthard, organist at the church of St Elizabeth in Wrocław, in the manuscript shelf-marked Bohn 357³⁶ (reproduced as Figure 3); this does not appear to be a *contrafactum* of any of the known Latin motets.³⁷ The other two come from the handwritten supplement to a set of parts originating from the city of Brzeg,³⁸ *Gott wolt ir thun verleihen, Schöns lib was hab ich Dir gethan – Aber mein schatz*.

Returning to the main problem addressed by our paper: what was the role of Jacob Handl's music in the liturgy of 17th-century Silesia? It was almost the same on both sides of the confessional divide: this music became a kind of “classic” repertory, much esteemed in the liturgical practice of Catholic and Protestant musical centres alike within this region. Handl's motets were used in various ways, and because of their popularity came to form a cornerstone of the institutionally adopted *musica figurata* repertory, which survived for a long time as an important component of the enduring Renaissance

³³ Olim: Library of the Musicological Institute, Breslau University, shelf-mark Mf. 2040; Hans Adolf Sander, *Ein Orgelbuch der Breslauer Magdalenen-Kirche. Ein Beitrag zum Aufführungsgebrauch des späten 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, *Festschrift Max Schneider zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Joachim Zingel, Halle, Schneider, 1935, pp. 74–83.

³⁴ For the complete list, see my paper: *Twórczość Jacoba Handla* [...], op. cit.

³⁵ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz [olim Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, shelf-mark Slg. Bohn 101]. Tomasz Jeż, *Muzyczne opracowania psalmów w tabulaturze z Biblioteki Miejskiej we Wrocławiu* (sygn. 101), *Materiały z XXIX Ogólnopolskiej Konferencji Muzykologicznej Związku Kompozytorów Polskich. Muzykologia u progu trzeciego tysiąclecia. Teoria i praktyka, Akademia Muzyczna im. F. Chopina w Warszawie, 14-15 kwietnia 2000*, ed. Ludwik Bielawski [...], Warszawa, Argraf, 2000, pp. 61–73.

³⁶ Rudolf Starke, *Kantoren und Organisten der St. Elisabethkirche zu Breslau*, *Monatshefte für Musikwissenschaft* 35/3 (1903), p. 45. Richard Charteris, *Newly Discovered Music Manuscript from the Private Collection of Emil Bohn*, *Musical Studies and Documents* 53, American Institute of Musicology, Holzgerlingen, Hänssler, 1999.

³⁷ A text similar to this German one occurs in *Iustorum animae in manu Dei sunt* from Jacob Handl's second volume of motets (RISM A/I: H 1981); this music setting, however, is different.

³⁸ Wrocław, University Library, shelf-mark 51418 Muz. [olim Bibliothek des Königlichen Gymnasium zu Brieg, shelf-mark Br. Mus. K. 51].

MOTETI JACOBUSA HANDLA
V MEDKONFESIONALNI LITURGIČNI PRAKSI V ŠLEZIJI

Povzetek

Kljub veliki pozornosti, ki jo je bil Jacobus Handl – Gallus, eden najpomembnejših srednjeevropskih renesančnih skladateljev, deležen v 20. stoletju, ostaja neodgovorjenih še veliko vprašanj, povezanih z njegovim obsežnim in raznolikim glasbenim delom. Po več kot sto letih raziskav, različnih izdaj njegovih zbranih del, seznam njegovih del še vedno ni popoln, saj raziskovalci še vedno odkrivajo nova ali pa na novo vrednotijo že znana dela.

Mnoga danes znana dela Jacobusa Handla so povezana z nekaterimi šlezijskimi mesti, v katerih je skladatelj preživel del svoje mladosti. Med številnimi sledmi njegove prisotnosti v glasbeni kulturi tega geografskega prostora so predvsem v rokopisih ohranjene skladbe, ki so nastale v času, preden je Nigrin začel tiskati njegova dela v Pragi. Še posebno so zanimiva dela, ki so jih prepisali v krajevnih glasbenih zbirkah, vendar pozneje niso bila objavljena v znanih tiskih. Nekatera od teh so celo edino znana iz omenjenih virov. Takih je predvsem šestnajst skladb šlezijskega izvora v menzuralni notaciji in orgelskih tabulaturah, ki izhajajo iz protestantskih cerkvenih arhivov v Vroclavu, Legnici in Brzegu.

O recepciji Handlove glasbe v Šleziji govorijo predvsem dela, ki globoko odražajo liturgično prakso svojega časa in so prav zaradi posebnih značilnosti skladateljevega osebnega sloga postala del »klasičnega« repertoarja, visoko cenjenega tako v katoliških kot tudi v protestantskih središčih po Šleziji. Handlove motete so uporabljali na najrazličnejše načine in so bili tako priljubljeni, da so postali ključni del uradno sprejetega repertoarja renesančne figuralne glasbe, ki je nato še dolgo živela kot pomemben sestavni del renesančne glasbene tradicije.